

# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 919

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## CONSTRUCTIVE PEACEMAKING IN AFRICA

By Wilfred Wellock

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### 'You promised to end German militarism'

#### BERLINERS REMIND FOUR POWERS OF BROKEN PLEDGES

WHEN Germany surrendered unconditionally in 1945 the Allies solemnly pledged themselves to abolish German militarism for ever and to maintain the unity of the country.

The Conference of Foreign Secretaries was reminded of this fact last week by Berlin pacifists and world citizens who issued to the Press a letter which had been handed to the British, French, Soviet and US representatives meeting in their city for the Four Power talks.

Unlike what had happened after World War I, Germany had not undertaken secret rearmament or subversive resistance to the Occupying Powers after 1945.

#### Kept their word

"We are sorry," the letter pointed out, "that while the Germans have thus complied with their obligations, the Occupying Powers have not made good their two promises."

The letter warned the Powers, both in the East and West, not to impose rearmament on the German nation or parts of it.

"Remilitarisation would inevitably bring about a regime similar to Nazism."

"We protest against any scheme through which our young people can be pressed into two hostile armies. We want to save our beautiful country from the suffering and fate of Korea."

After expressing solidarity with the people of Japan in their resistance to an enforced change of constitution and to rearmament, the letter continued:

#### Not our sons

"We are willing to make any sacrifice for peace. We are not willing that our sons should kill, or be killed by, the sons of other nations."

The representatives of the Four Powers were asked to recognise that during the negotiations in Berlin agreement could only be achieved if each side was willing to yield a little. "The one who sacrifices most in the interests of peace will be first in the hearts of the people."

The letter was signed on behalf of the Berlin groups of the following bodies:

The War Resisters' International (of which the Peace Pledge Union is the British, and War Resisters League the American section); The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; The German Peace Society; The World Citizens.

#### Postscript to Everest

##### SHERPA TENSING TO AID CHILDREN

Tensing Norkay, the Sherpa guide who shared honours for reaching the top of Everest, is working on a plan he has developed for a Darjeeling home for Sherpas, with provisions for the education of needy Sherpa children.

Sir Edmund Hillary said last week that he would like to climb Everest from the northern side, in Tibet. This would mean asking permission from China.

Hillary was accompanied by his brother when granted an audience with Queen Elizabeth. The brother is probably the only New Zealand World War II CO to have shaken the Sovereign's hand!

An Indian boy receives an inoculation from a World Health Organisation worker.

All over the world tens of thousands of skilled people are needed to help in the campaign against disease, misery and want.

Bodies like the International Development Placement Association can help in providing workers dedicated to co-operate with local people in helping to build sound bodies, minds, economies and human relations at the same time.

—Unations

### HELP FOR THE NEEDY



### FREE UNIVERSITY TRAINING FOR "WAGING PEACE"

FOUR young people have been selected to go to Nova Scotia (Canada) University for five months training and practical experience in co-operative work.

After the course they will go to jobs with

co-operative groups working in under-developed areas.

This has been made possible by agreement between the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish, Nova Scotia and the International Development Placement Association. The theoretical training will consist of study in co-operation and community work, the field work will be done with the Antigonish Movement, a fundamental education organisation.

The Nova Scotia course is just another part of the expanding work being undertaken by IDPA which came into existence a year ago in the United States to help and encourage young people to take up service work in needy areas.

IDPA jobs do not pay fancy wages, nor are they always done under completely safe or

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### Ending the diplomacy of failure

By A Political Correspondent

THE results of the first week at Berlin were far from depressing.

That this should have been so, when no negotiation had taken place, is a measure of what has been happening to diplomacy since 1930; its object was formerly to reach agreement favourable to one's own side. The new style diplomacy, particularly that of Acheson and Dulles, but also of the Communists in Korea, aimed more and more at failure; the negotiations were conducted to convince world opinion of the unreasonableness of the other side.

At least so far as American insistence on EDC with its new German army is concerned, successful negotiation would still represent a failure for Mr. Dulles, and unsuccessful diplomacy is certainly written in his brief. But both the speeches of Mr. Malenkov and the atomic energy proposals of Mr. Eisenhower represent in a real degree a return to diplomacy-meant-to-succeed rather than diplomacy-to-appease-public-opinion.

That is why the failure of the first week at Berlin to produce more mischief, rather than its success in doing positive good, is in itself a good sign, and why the acceptance of Mr. Molotov's agenda can be trumpeted as a major Western concession with some minor degree of truth.

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The clash over China was inevitable—it has to be remembered that the maniacal trumpeting of Mr. Dulles whenever that subject is raised are not a token of policy, even of Mr. Dulles' policy. The man who calls Mr. Rhee his "dear friend" is not going to balk at taking the hand of an "evil régime" if political advantage demands. The trumpeting is directed to the American Right. It is a safe prediction that they will be moderated in private.

Russian insistence on the introduction of China, apart from being a just demand, is partly directed to force the American hand, but probably much more based on the greater opportunity for hard bargaining in a settlement where concessions in the East can be balanced against concessions in the West.

There is not much doubt that Britain and France would find the restoration of China's international rights and the calling-off of the European Cold War a reasonably remunerative price for the unification of Germany, the

### NEW DISARMAMENT PLAN



At the Berlin Conference Mr. Molotov proposed a world conference, open to all states, to discuss disarmament. The Western Press has made little of this suggestion. This photograph shows the UN Disarmament Commission in session. See "World Disarmament Conference," page two.

Austrian treaty, and an Indochinese settlement.

Difficult questions arise over the treaty-making powers of a pan-German Government, but these could be resolved soon enough in terms of any diplomacy intended to succeed.

The crucial point is whether, in the last pinch, America needs the Cold War too much to abandon it—not, probably, as a counter to recession (as the Russians, and many Europeans, certainly believe) but rather as a counter in American home politics.

The Cold War is no longer of the slightest internal benefit to the Communist powers—their position at home can only be improved by a steady rise in the standard of living. American politics, however, have come to batten on it, for both psychological and economic reasons.

The fact that the Berlin negotiations have begun at all, and that having begun they have not yet been deliberately derailed, is a tribute to one force and one force only, the force of world public opinion—including therein the

opinion of the Russian, American and Asian publics, as well as that of Europe.

"Diplomacy" was substituted for war largely to keep those publics quiet: now, if the pressure can be maintained, diplomacy may be substituted for "diplomacy."

No section of the "peace movement" can claim credit for this, though all, pacifist, Socialist, Communist, and even financial, have contributed.

The author of the Berlin meeting is to this extent quite genuinely the "common man."

Stalin is alleged to have said that sincere diplomacy is a contradiction in terms: a profound truth, but limited by the fact that diplomacy under the pressure of public opinion may do much to limit the delinquent behaviour of governments.

In practical terms, the crucial point is for Western European opinion to force concession upon German rearmament. On that basis, real progress might be made towards the appeasement of Europe, in its pristine and honourable sense.

### "AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS"

Brockway, Jagan, Koinange, Murumbi at London Conference

By SYLVIA STEVENSON

THE Delegate Conference of the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism on Sunday was notable for its constructive proposals for solving the present African deadlock.

On the platform, beside Fenner Brockway MP (Chairman), were two excellent speakers from Kenya—Joseph Murumbi and Mbiyu Koinange—and also Dr. Jagan, recently deposed Prime Minister of British Guiana, just returned from India.

Delegates were from many Labour Party branches and Trade Unions, from the Indian Socialists, the Peace Pledge Union, the Tunis Group, and others.

#### Programme for Kenya

A ten-point programme for Kenya, beginning with an amnesty for all Kikuyu arrested under the Emergency regulations, was first discussed.

Joseph Murumbi said that grave economic and social disturbances lay behind the present Mau Mau troubles.

"Europeans have not considered that we are human beings. They speak of Kenya as 'theirs'—and the British Press distorts the whole issue."

He then spoke of the "apathy" with which the people of Britain acquiesced in the "utter denial of justice, of British justice in which we trusted."

To stop the fighting in Kenya with its atrocities on both sides, the British Government should first meet African demands and accept elected, and not imposed, African leadership.

Once their just demands had been met, African leaders were prepared to go out and stop Mau Mau.

Mbiyu Koinange described the land hunger which dominates African lives. Of seven

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## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

February 5, 1954

### AGGRESSIVE IMPERIALISM

IF it were reported that in some territory behind the "iron curtain" the views of the local governing body had been over-ruled and set aside by the Kremlin, that because their principal spokesman had refused to bring pressure to bear on his parliament he had been arrested and taken into exile, and that a decision by the parliament to declare two days of public mourning as a result had been over-ruled and such mourning forbidden, what righteous condemnation would be conveyed in our Press, with how many suggestions of the superiority of the liberties enjoyed in the "free world."

What is described above is what has happened in Buganda, except that the British Colonial Office has to be substituted for the Kremlin.

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Four members of the Buganda Lukiko are now in this country to state their case against the action of the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lyttelton, and the British Governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew Cohen, and to declare support for their deposed Kabaka.

This, of course, could not be happening behind the iron curtain. It is the single essential difference that obtains, and it adds enormously to the responsibility of the British people in the matter.

The case these men make is formidable and impressive. Taken in conjunction with the information given in the official White Paper on the subject, and with the earlier coup d'etat in British Guiana, it indicates that we are entering upon a new phase of aggressive British imperialism.

Since he has been in this country the Kabaka has conceded all the points immediately at issue between himself as representing his Lukiko and the British Colonial Office. Despite this Mr. Lyttelton has declared that his deposition is irrevocable. It is also despite the declaration of personal friendship that Mr. Lyttelton doubtless found politically useful but which the Kabaka was never able to echo. Since Mr. Lyttelton's statement the Colonial Office has said that "as far as the Colonial Office is concerned the matter is closed."

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This may appear on the surface to be merely a deplorable failure in magnanimity. This would be a misreading of the situation, however. What is involved goes a good deal deeper than the views of British imperialism on any personal indiscretions of the Kabaka.

There had already been disingenuousness (to use no harsher word) in maintaining that the Kabaka's refusal to appoint representatives to the Uganda Legislature showed a desire for separation of Buganda from the rest of Uganda (although we should be far from arguing that if the Baganda did desire this it should not be considered).

What happened was that all four sections of Uganda originally decided on the same refusal. The other districts were subsequently induced to appoint, leaving the Kabaka and Lukiko isolated in this particular form of protest expressing the fear of an East African Federation.

It is evident that the same kind of pressures on the Kabaka had also been applied, but with more success, in the other three provinces. The rulers of these provinces are, however, now united in support of the Kabaka. They fear that they also may find themselves faced with the alternative that they accept the "advice of Her Majesty's Representative" which the treaty they have signed, but are not permitted to denounce, requires that they shall explicitly follow or, in their turn be deposed.

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The Baganda have witnessed the imposition of Central African Federation in the interests of the white settlers against the strong opposition of the native peoples of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia; and they have since had indications of the likely results for Africans in those territories.

The only thing between themselves and similar treatment is Mr. Lyttelton's promise, which he admits is only the reiteration of similar promises made on a number of occasions before his speech in a contrary sense to the East Africa Club.

The Baganda do not rate the value of that promise as high as Mr. Lyttelton apparently thinks they should. The promise was, however, a very limited one that evidently looks forward to a change of view in Uganda. Work has to be begun on inducing that change which is necessary to Colonial Office policy.

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It is because the Kabaka would not help in that process that he is not to be permitted to return to his country.

### Bluster at Berlin

IN the face of American pressure on Japan and Germany the rejection of a Five-Power Conference by Foster Dulles in his answer to Mr. Molotov, because it involves "the conception of world domination by the powers" and the view that the powers have a special mandate to run the affairs of the world, is particularly naive.

It is not surprising if the American persistence in rearming disarmed countries, while the State Department refuses to take part in a Five-Power Conference, suggests to some that the US prefers to dominate and manage the affairs of the world by itself.

Nothing that has happened so far at the Berlin Conference is more regrettable than the sneering tone which Mr. Foster Dulles has chosen to adopt and the sarcasm which has characterised most of his speeches.

If we had to accept that as the only evidence of his intentions, it would appear that, so far from being ready to show the spirit of compromise for which Mr. Eden asked, he prefers to be provocative and to create a deadlock as soon as possible.

Unfortunately his attitude may be a reflection of the changes indicated by the cuts in military expenditure and the reduction in the size of the army involved in the new US Budget. These mean a return to the policy of staking everything on the threat of "instantaneous reprisals." That in turn involves a conception of the world as permanently divided into two hostile camps and rules out the possibility or even the desire for compromise and a lessening of the tension.

### Why no Five Power Conference?

IN spite of all the bitter accusations made by the USA about Russian aggressiveness and indeed the assertion that they had encouraged the conflicts in Korea and Indo-China, America has not refused to sit at the conference table with Mr. Molotov.

Why, then, this refusal of a subsequent meeting which includes the Foreign Minister of the Communist Government in China? Are the hands of the Western representatives so clean that they are afraid to sully them by meeting someone from Peking?

To continue to ignore the Government of China or merely to be sarcastic about it is to refuse to face the facts. To suppose that there can be any peaceful solution of problems in the Far East without its co-operation is blatant folly.

The real answer to the objections which Foster Dulles made to the holding of a Five-Power Conference on the grounds that it would be outside the framework of UN is not the refusal to take the Chinese Government into consultation, but the admission of the representatives of the Peking Government to their rightful place in UN.

As Sir Gladwyn Jebb said recently, had the representatives of the Peking Government been seated in the Assembly, there might never have been any conflict in Korea or any situation which provoked a Chinese intervention.

If Mr. Foster Dulles really intends that the United Nations should tackle the whole question of peace in the Far East as well as in Korea, the sooner America withdraws its

## BEHIND THE NEWS

opposition to the admission of China the better.

### Repudiating Potsdam

MR. DULLES was on dangerous ground when he tried to repudiate the American signature to the Potsdam Agreement.

He said that though the decisions taken at Yalta and Potsdam were understandable in the context of the day, they were expressive of a hatred and bitterness which he wanted to forget but which Mr. Molotov was reviving by his references to these agreements.

To insist on the implementation of the undertaking to disarm Germany completely and for all time, especially when the American desire to rearm Germany is regarded as a fresh threat to Russian security, is not expressive of a wish to stir up hatred and bitterness but a recognition of the fact that the peace of the world requires their continued disarmament, and indeed the disarmament of all other nations as well.

If, as may well be, the decisions taken at Potsdam were in part due to the hatred felt for a defeated enemy, so that on that score Mr. Dulles may say they were wrong, may he not be equally wrong today in advocating policies based upon fear and hatred of Russia?

Hatred and bitterness towards a defeated foe are no basis for a peace treaty, nor are they the basis for a successful conference when directed against a former ally.

### World disarmament conference

WHILE we support Mr. Molotov's request for a Five-Power Conference, we doubt the wisdom of his suggestion for a world disarmament conference.

The experience of the previous world disarmament conference, which became a platform on which each Power demanded the right to retain the arms which were most to its own advantage, and behind which representatives of armament manufacturers intrigued, leads us to believe that the best chance of securing the first step towards total disarmament lies in private discussions between the Powers engaged in the armaments race.

This step has already been agreed as part of the resumption of the work of the Disarmament Commission.

We would hope that, instead of quarrelling about a world conference, all the Foreign Ministers will agree that no time should be lost in calling representatives together for the private conversations, and join in a determination that this time success shall crown their efforts.

### The crucial questions

ANY success in agreement on an Austrian peace treaty depends upon the kind of agreement which is reached in regard to Germany.

If the rearmament of Western and of Eastern

Germany becomes an accomplished fact, Russia is not likely to abandon the right to have Soviet troops in Austria, if only for maintaining lines of communication.

It is hopeful that while the Western Foreign Ministers so quickly showed themselves unwilling under any circumstances to abandon their plans to include Germany in their own security system, Mr. Molotov has not announced in advance a Russian opposition to free elections for all Germany, or an insistence on the formation of a provisional German Government, composed of representatives of the two existing Governments, prior to elections.

While the West has been content to make negative assertions about what they will not accept, he at least has confined himself to constructive, even if unwelcome, proposals.

The question of free elections and the rearmament of Germany are the crucial points so far as the success of the conference in securing a peaceful solution of the German problem is concerned.

Here, then, is a real opportunity for compromise. If Russia will give up her proposals for a provisional all-German Government, and can induce the East German Government to fall in with this view, and agree to conditions for free elections throughout Germany, and the West on their side will abandon their desire to rearm Western Germany, the success of the Berlin Conference could be assured.

### The devolution of power

WE publish on page 4 an account by a German correspondent of the federal character of Western Germany.

It is well that we should understand in Britain that there is a much greater historic tradition in Germany than there is here of devolved and federated power as against centralisation.

If East and West Germany are to be reunited the question of the form of government that is to be established for the whole area will become one of importance, and the German people are taking the possibility of the Berlin talks resulting in the Russian evacuation of Eastern Germany sufficiently seriously for a discussion to be developing on whether there should in the future be a centralised or a federalised Germany.

There has always been a strong desire for self-government in Bavaria and the Bavarians are already demanding, in anticipation of an agreement with Russia that will bring liberty to the German people, that federalism and not centralism shall form the basis of organisation.

Herr Hans Ehard, Minister-President of Bavaria, recently commented:

"The fight for federalism will be heightened when reunification is on the agenda. In a centralised state the danger always exists that a man will seize power by possessing the central switchbox. It was characteristic that Hitler hurried to bury the states."

It is to be noted that, according to our correspondent's description, in East Germany the independence of the Lander has been progressively reduced in favour of centralised control.

Herr Heinrich Hellwege, a Minister of the Bundesrat (the upper house of the Bonn Parliament, made up of representatives of the states) said last month:

on back page

## The logic of non-violence

THIS letter is being written on the West Coast of the US, in Los Angeles.

This is a section of the country where reaction and hysteria are rife and the newspapers are all pretty bad. Surprisingly, however, the Los Angeles Times devoted a column on last Saturday's religious page to a factual and remarkably detailed report of an address of mine on Christian Pacifism and Gandhian non-violence in which I advocated unilateral disarmament and Christian martyrdom as the way to overcome Communism.

On the way here I read the just published "Ambassador's Report," by Chester Bowles, who had such remarkable success as US Ambassador to India from the autumn of 1951 to early in 1953 when unfortunately the Eisenhower administration decided it could dispense with the services of a prominent Democrat.

It is a remarkable book. It may make the best-seller lists and that would be good for the country.

Chester Bowles is, of course, not a pacifist. He thinks we have to keep up our atomic "defences" against Communist aggression, and on landing in Korea for a brief visit on his way home "realised again what a brave and history-making act was this amazing collective defence of South Korea."

But the bulk of this 400-page book is packed with information about the history and contemporary development of India and other Asian countries, acute and objective analysis of political trends and forces, insistence that the US must not and cannot coerce India into lining-up in the Cold War and so on.

### Chester Bowles and Gandhi

Chester Bowles in an excellent and enthusiastic chapter on Gandhi—there is also a fine one on Vinoba Bhave entitled "Land Reform—by force, by law or by Gandhi"—calls attention to two coincidences which I have not previously noted and do not recall as being noted in the literature of Gandhi, and which constitute the text of this week's pacifist homily.

The first has to do with Gandhi's famous decision to call off the civil disobedience campaign in 1919 when his followers engaged in some violence and, in particular, when in his own home town of Ahmedabad, Indians had rioted and killed several British officers. It was then that he confessed to having made a "Himalayan miscalculation" in beginning the campaign before people had been trained in self-restraint, and started a three-day fast.

The coincidence, which I had not previously

realised, was that it was on that very day that General Dyer fired on unarmed Indians at Amritsar, killing according to Gandhi's own investigation 1,200 and wounding three times as many. In contrast to what Gandhi had said about a "Himalayan miscalculation" General Dyer stated that he might "have dispersed the crowd without firing, but they would have come back again and laughed and I should have made what I consider a fool of myself."

### LETTER FROM U.S.A. By A. J. Muste

The other coincidence has to do with the period following the unsuccessful Round Table Conference in London.

Gandhi confessed his "utter failure" to convince the British to treat India as a partner. What to do now?

"I find," said Gandhi, as he left Britain, "that our sufferings are not vital and real enough to make themselves felt and I shall have to go to India and ask my countrymen to go through the fiery ordeal in a more intense form than last year."

He was referring to such things as the lathi charges by mounted police in connection with the march to the sea to make salt illegally. So Gandhi sent his followers into the villages to combat disease and break down untouchability.

He himself entered on a fast unto death to be broken only if the leaders of the Hindu community vowed to outlaw untouchability and the British to withdraw the plan for separate electorates for the untouchables.

Here the coincidence is that this was the very period when in China Mao Tse-tung was leading the Communist army on the incredibly long march to Yenan, to prepare for the ruthless violent war for power in China, while Gandhi settled in the largely untouchable village of Sevagram and established there the Ashram which is now a shrine and also the vital centre of the Basic Education programme in India. Sevagram versus Yenan.

It is surely helpful to see the contrast between the violent and non-violent way drawn in such stark and dramatic fashion and incarnated in the juxtaposition of Gandhi and General Dyer, Gandhi and Mao.

The inexorable logic of violence is well expressed by General Dyer. It is in its nature to fall into excess. It is compelled to surpass itself. For it operates by terrorising. It keeps

the situation and people in hand by convincing the latter that it is brutal and will not hesitate to go the limit and beyond.

If you leave any question of this in people's minds, they naturally do not take you seriously, they call the bluff, and so, as the General says, "I should have made what I consider a fool of myself." The people who think you can have restrained violence, a gentleman's war, a mild revolutionary terror, are always trying to make themselves believe they can escape this logic.

Non-violence similarly has its own logic, as Gandhi so surely discerned and practised. For one thing, to mix it with violence, to undertake it without strong commitment and training, this—not non-violence itself as the man in the street is wont to assume—is the "Himalayan miscalculation."

And when the amount and the quality of non-violence which has been brought to bear on a situation proves insufficient and you experience "utter failure," then the only thing to do is to become more non-violent, increase the amount and the quality of your constructive work, of your suffering and your patient love of the enemy.

### Why violence must ultimately fail

You must not waver, hesitate, retreat, mix in a little violence and resentment, perhaps. With non-violence as with violence, you have to prove to yourself and to others that you will go the limit. Otherwise, as General Dyer well said, "I should have made what I consider a fool of myself."

Is not this the answer to the contention that non-violence will work in comparatively civilised situations but not when you are dealing with Nazis or Communists? If this were true, non-violence would, of course, be unimportant. But if it is true then you have to accept the logic of violence and be prepared to surpass the enemy's limit of destruction and brutality.

But the contention is not true. On their respective levels violence and non-violence carried to the limit are both invincible.

Nothing can keep a man from becoming a scourge of mankind, if he has nerve and no inhibitions. Nothing can keep a man from becoming in some way a saviour of mankind, if he has nerve and no "attachments" or reservations. Violence destroys its world; non-violence builds and consequently has the last word.



## YOUR WORLD LAST WEEK

**BERMUDA:** A committee of the Bermuda House of Assembly urged an end to racial discrimination in the Colony's Government and Civil Service. It added: "We must be careful to keep our reforms in line with the generally-accepted conditions of the countries from which we get the majority of our visitors." The committee consisted of five white and four coloured members. Bermuda was in the news recently when a distinguished Negro politician was denied hotel accommodation during an enforced stay overnight.

**EGYPT:** General Franco, the Spanish Chief of State, is to visit Egypt and other Arab States. The Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League reports that Spain is desirous of strengthening relations with Arab countries in every possible way. The political committee of the Arab League recommended that Arab governments support Spain in its dispute with France over Morocco and its claim against Britain for the return of Gibraltar.



**BECHUANALAND:** A request that a Legislative Council be established was made in a recent debate in the African Advisory Council. This would give the people of Bechuanaland a greater say in their own affairs. It is 57 years since the Protectorate was formed. During the debate Chief Bathoen II said: "In other colonies Legislative Councils have already been established. I have met people personally who are members of such Councils and I do not think they are better educated than we are."

**DENMARK:** The January issue of *Pacific* records a number of interviews with Danish farmers all of whom are strongly against participation in the Atlantic Pact and in favour of their country disarming, even if they are the only country to do so.

**BRITAIN:** Only 25 out of 758 men who registered as conscientious objectors in 1953 were granted complete (i.e., unconditional) exemption.

The Home Office Under-Secretary, Sir Hugh Lucas-Tooth, said that there is no blanket ban on Communists entering Britain, they could come from abroad as private individuals, but if they were "personally objectionable" in some way they might be refused permission.

**FRANCE:** The deposed Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, is to be sent to Tahiti, French possession in the South Seas, as his final place of exile. Sidi Mohammed was deported from Morocco last year because he was endangering French suzerainty.

**RUSSIA** has given £1,041 for Austrian avalanche victims.

**UNITED NATIONS:** A Magna Carta for refugees which establishes their rights to asylum, work, education, public relief and freedom of religion is to come into force in April next in Australia, Belgium, Denmark, West Germany, Luxembourg and Norway. Fifty governments, the largest number recorded for a single year, made contributions to the UN Children's Fund in 1953. "The impact of this growth in support will be felt by millions of children and mothers in 75 countries and territories into which UNICEF milk, medical and other supplies are now flowing," says UN.

### Freeze up



I SUPPOSE that severe frost is to be expected at this time of the year, though the recent cold spell has been exceptional. From experience we anticipate also that money will be slow to come in at the beginning of the year, especially after a big effort to reach our 1953 aim.

Nineteen-fifty-four is no exception and if there has not been a complete freeze up, the post has brought us very little during the past few days. But in spite of the frost work has to go on, roads have to be cleared and pipes unfrozen. Here, too, our work has to go on, even if the money that comes in is not sufficient at the moment to cover the cost of heating the office, let alone paying salaries, because we know that you will provide the income to meet the expenditure sooner or later.

But how much better sooner than later, because we don't want to have either expense of an unnecessary overdraft, or outstanding bills. It is always harder to catch up later on in the year if we make a bad start.

So I hope that the warmth of your feelings about pacifism and your desire that the work should go on will help to clear away the obstacle of that overdraft on last year's accounts and open up the road to increased activity in the coming months.

While we are always grateful for any contribution to HQ Fund, large or small, whenever it reaches us, we would especially welcome a gift from you during the next fortnight.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Amount received since January 9: £23.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## 6,000 PRISONERS RELEASED ON THE EVE OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE

# Russia frees a German war resister

By HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI

Ten days before the opening of the Berlin Conference the Russian Government released some 6,000 political prisoners who had been before Russian courts and in gaols in the Soviet Zone of Germany.

Our Berlin correspondent, Heinz Kraschutzki, has had an opportunity of interviewing two of the released prisoners and sends us the following report.

Heinz Kraschutzki himself was imprisoned for nine years by General Franco. He had exposed German rearmament after World War I and been forced to leave Germany.

ONE of the released men had been a member of the War Resisters' International, living not far from Berlin. But he had not been in jail for having been a CO. In fact, he is not quite cognizant of the details of the accusations which brought him behind barred windows for nearly six years.

The trial was in Russian language, which he cannot understand. The interpreter spoke German so badly that he did not understand him either. There was no counsel for defence.

He scarcely grasped the points of accusation—espionage, forming of groups, etc.—but he took notice that there were four of them and that he was given a sentence of 25 years for each: 100 years in total.

He was not ill-treated. He is in good health now, though he says that a good many of his comrades have TB. But he has lost six years of his youth—just the time when a young man usually learns something for his future life—doing absolutely nothing. People indicted for espionage were not allowed to work.

The other released man is about 40. He had been sentenced to ten years hard labour of which he has served over four. Hard labour in that case also meant that he was not allowed to work!

The accusation against him came from a professional criminal, who later recanted and said that he had not said the truth, that he had acted under severe pressure. The released man also is of good health.

The Russians make much of the generosity with which they have released such men in spite of the heavy sentences. But I am afraid the men who go home now will not be quite convinced of such generosity. They will think—and their families and friends with them—that it would have been more generous never to have convicted such men and imposed such heavy sentences without real evidence, without the guarantees of a fair trial.

I am afraid the bitterness of these men will

be stronger than their thankfulness for the amnesty. And yet we are glad that the Russians decided to release them. It simply had to be done. The fact that so many of them may go home indicates that the Russians at least are trying to create an atmosphere which will enable the Conference to come to an agreement.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

Future trends forecast by John Swomley

JOHN M. SWOMLEY Jr., acting Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation writing in *AFor's* monthly, "Fellowship" attempts a forecast of the next ten or twenty years' history. From his examination he draws eight general conclusions, although he is careful to remind us that in the end "there is nothing certain or static about any analysis of the power struggle."

1. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union is ready for or wants a global war. This situation may last for ten or twenty years, though the shift of events could alter any time prediction.

2. There is likely to be a period of continued cold war, including some limited warfare, chiefly in Asia and Africa. In these struggles the United States and the Soviet Union will be arrayed on opposite sides.

3. There may be periods, such as the present, when tension is somewhat relaxed, but there is not likely to be any permanent relaxation so long as both sides continue to think in military and power terms.

4. Nations at the peak of their power like Russia and America are not likely to agree to relinquish that power, particularly when their economic life and political leadership are at stake.

5. The course of world events may be shaped more by what happens in Asia and Africa in the next ten or twenty years than by what happens in Russia and the United States. Movements within Russian or American territory may nevertheless have great influence in Asia and Africa, as a strong pacifist movement in Britain undoubtedly had on the Gandhian movement in India.

6. The world will have a breathing spell in which to try to avoid a global war.

7. The only ultimate hope for averting global war lies in movements which reject war rather than accommodate themselves to war. Movements and nations that will support war "if" and those that are for peace "but" will offer no hope to the world. Similarly, movements against war that are conditional upon some other nation's disarming or getting out of the war system are likely to be futile.

8. The world scene today is not an optimistic one. Threats of war are never hopeful. Nor is a revolutionary situation pleasing to those who in any way have identified themselves with the status quo. On the other hand, the fact that millions are eagerly seeking social change is both an indication that there is nothing certain or static about any analysis of the power struggle and an opportunity for pacifists to support and encourage non-violent change. We must keep in mind the possibility that world events may be influenced more by quality of action than by quantity of numbers. This is the sociological testimony of Jesus and Gandhi. This is not to suggest that a handful of pacifists will end war. Rather, it is an affirmation that in a moral universe such leadership speaks to the condition of people as that governed by expediency never can.

## American Quakers call conference on civil liberties

AMERICAN Quakers are to hold a "National Conference of Friends on Civil Liberties," to "re-examine the principles which underlie human freedom."

The conference, which will be held at Scattered Good School, Iowa, USA, from April 2 to 4 will consider 15 questions previously submitted to participants. These questions are concerned with a definition of man's "inalienable rights," the function of the State, the ways in which civil liberties are now being impaired in the US and the attitude of Friends in these matters.

Indicative of the grave situation with which many are faced is the question:

"Are we developing a new kind of conscientious objector—the individual conscientiously unable to support test oath measures, unable to sacrifice academic or personal freedom, or to participate in 'cold-war security' investigations? Have such people been harassed by investigation and found their vocational opportunities cut off or limited? What about our obligations to innocent persons who are attacked, whether member or non-member? Do we have an obligation to the guilty?"

February 5, 1954, PEACE NEWS—3

## Korea's unwilling repatriates

TO THE EDITOR

IN her article entitled "Korea's Unwilling Repatriates" in the January 22 issue of *Peace News*, Edith Adlam, after paying tribute to the work of the Indian Custodian Force, says:

"General Thimayya now prepares to hand prisoners back to the detaining sides satisfied that only about 2,000 would still choose to go to the Communists, if given a free choice."

The statement that "only about 2,000" are in effect being deprived of the chance of returning to their homeland seems strangely at variance with the interim report of the United Nations Repatriation Commission dated December 27, 1954.

I have seen only brief mention of this report (which appears to have been that of the Indian, Polish and Czechoslovak majority of the Commission, with the Swedish and Swiss members signing a minority report) in the British press, and I therefore hope you will find space for the following quotations from the summary issued by the New China News Agency in London on January 14, under the dateline Pyongyang, January 7.

### TWO-WAY RISK

1. The Commission became aware of the fact that the prisoners delivered by the UN Command into the custody of the Commission were well organised; the main object of such organisation was to resist repatriation and prevent such prisoners as desired repatriation from exercising that right. In pursuance of this objective, force was being resorted to by one set of prisoners against another with the result that any prisoner who desired repatriation had to do so clandestinely and in fear of his life.

2. In a letter to the UN Commander, General Clark, in reply to his protest against the "Rules of Procedure Governing Explanations and Interviews" adopted by the Commission, the Commission stated: "Not one of the prisoners of war dared openly in their camps ask for repatriation. They had to do so surreptitiously or at the risk of death or injury from fellow prisoners or at the risk of being shot on the fence by armed guards."

3. It is difficult, the report says, for the Commission to assess the number of prisoners of war who were prevented from exercising their right of repatriation by fear of consequences which they were told would result. It is impossible to say that all those who did not seek repatriation were doing so freely and voluntarily and not because of certain fears inculcated in their minds over a period of time.

4. Despite all the care the Commission took in endeavouring to create a proper atmosphere for the conduct of explanation work, the report says, it cannot record a finding that even those prisoners in its custody in the south camp who went through the process of individual explanations were completely freed from force or threat of force arising from and intimately connected with the camp organisation and its leadership.

### TWO DISAGREED

The summary from which the above extracts are taken shows how all efforts of the Commission to carry out their task in accordance with their Terms of Reference were frustrated by the terroristic organisation in the camps.

The Indian delegation considered that the use of force to break up this organisation was justifiable but that the risk of casualties among the prisoners was such that the Commission should give unanimous support to the Indian Custodian Force. Owing to the opposition of the Swedish and Swiss members to the proposal such support was not forthcoming, and the organisations remained intact.

It is noteworthy that when "force" was on one occasion used to investigate murder in the prisoners' compounds no casualties to prisoners resulted, and the persons accused of the murder and witnesses were successfully segregated.

It is difficult to share your contributors' view that non-violent techniques were "astonishingly successful" in dealing with this whole problem. It may be that they were not sufficiently tried, but in any case nothing should be allowed to gloss over the ugly fact that the internal control of the camps by what The Observer correspondent Patrick O'Donovan described as "terror and torture" has won.

Cambridge.

H. D. BRYAN.

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## AT INDIA DAY MEETING Mr. Attlee stresses value of non-violence

By MARTIN JACKSON

THE spirit of Mahatma Gandhi is in this hall; his spirit is in India; it should be in the whole world. If only this Gandhian spirit could get to Berlin.

With these words Reginald Sorensen, MP, set the tone for the India Day rally at Kingsway Hall, last week. Speaker after speaker paid tribute to the Father of Indian independence and called for the acceptance of his ideals on non-violence.

The Rt. Hon. Clement Attlee, MP said the fact that Gandhi taught the principles of non-violence would prove very important for the future of Asia. It was significant that India had achieved independence in a world torn by dissension and violence with the non-violent message of Gandhi.

### Flame of hope

Canon L. J. Collins of St. Paul's said the sign post that India had given to the world was that of non-violence.

"In a world brought up to believe in the force of arms it is a wonderful thing to have had this stand by India for non-violence. While we talk glibly of rearming for defence, India must keep the flame of hope alive in the world. Between two conflicting militaristic ideologies India offers the brotherly alternative."

He told Indians not to forget their fight for independence. "Remember your past struggles that they may spur you to work for a free Africa. Thousands and thousands of people in this country, certainly the ordinary people, will be behind you."

### "No" to arms race

V. K. Krishna Menon, Indian representative at UN, said: "We are still Gandhi's country. We are a peace-mongering country. We will enter into no arms race."

The message from New Delhi, signed by Prime Minister Nehru said: "We think of the future of our country which we are trying to shape, and in doing so we keep before us the spirit that guided us during our struggle, and above all, the message of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi."

### LOOKING AHEAD—TO SCARBOROUGH

The Labour Peace Fellowship have planned a peace meeting to be held during the Labour Party Conference Week at Scarborough next September.

### THEY DO IT THROUGH "MEMOS"

Denver (US) War Resisters publicise their activities through a small mimeographed booklet called "Memos," issued from 65 W. Alameda Avenue, Denver 19, Colorado, USA.



# Constructive peacemaking in Africa

By WILFRED WELLOCK

AFRICA is in ferment from end to end: the ferment of a transition which affects every part and embraces Africans in various stages of development from the most primitive tribalism to experiments in modern Western democracy.

Many countries, races, religions and business interests are vitally connected with this transition, and must be taken into account by all who would assist in developing this vast picturesque country and people.

## In the grip of imperialism

Today Africa is in the grip of imperialism. It takes many forms, even under one imperial power. The present ferment is due to a clash between Africans who seek freedom from imperialist rule while yet desiring co-operation with Western peoples, and imperialist rulers who mostly realise that the old-style imperialism is doomed but desire to make the best bargain they can with Africans.

In this situation it is vitally important to insure that new forms of servitude are not substituted for the old, and that what is done enhances real freedom and insures the highest culture of the human spirit.

The vote is important, but it has not prevented millions of Western workers from becoming industrial robots in a mass production system which ignores and represses their deeper aspirations, their creative impulses and powers, and subjects them to economic impotence, the privations and indignities of unemployment, military conscription, total war and permanent cold war.

A universal franchise is no proof of a valid democracy nor of the sanity of a civilisation. The evils of the Industrial Revolution have triumphed over the vote and subjected the industrial populations of the West to the ravages of aggressive economies and total wars.

## The real dangers in Africa

The world will not achieve peace, nor humanity wholeness, by harnessing the teeming millions of Asia and Africa to the competitive industrialism of the West.

The real dangers in Africa today are plantation or big estate farming, compound mining and mass production industrialism; a social order in which a small white minority dominates the political and economic life of the entire continent.

This social pattern must be prevented at all costs—not alone in the interest of Africa, but of Europe also.

New social patterns must be evolved if world wars are to cease: and it is in Asia and Africa that the best chances of evolving them exist.

The future aim of all who desire social progress must be the evolution of a high-quality civilisation, not profit and power as throughout the Industrial Revolution. To this end the culture of human beings by means of responsibility in every sphere of life, social, political, industrial, must be the primary aim.

This will necessitate the organisation of

small, largely self-controlled social units, which will be well-integrated agro-industrial communities as far as possible. The control of their economic life would constitute the backbone of their politics.

## The worship of bigness

Maximum responsibility is necessary to the maximum development of human personality, and this can only be provided in small communities which control a large percentage of their economic life and security. They will thus encourage and foster the largest number of skills and vocations.

The worship of bigness is a cult of the enslaved, materialistic mind, be it the enslavement of the rich to power or of the poor to conformity.

This concept of a qualitative civilisation

Co-operation in practice. The committee of the Majihun Cocoa Co-operative in Sierra Leone.

Producers' co-operatives, marketing co-operatives and co-operative credit unions are playing an increasing part in the lives of the peoples of Africa and Asia.

—Crown Copyright

## THE NEW WAY IN SIERRA LEONE



covered, make preparatory plans, and train the people for the work it was decided to undertake. African opinion would, of course, be consulted all the way along.

## Key to a new civilisation

At the political level propaganda would be undertaken to awaken public opinion to the importance of the proposed line of action and of securing government support for it. In British Africa the crucial areas would be where British settlers and/or British finance are most concentrated, that is, in Kenya and in Central Africa.

From first to last it is vitally important to make the object of this crusade indubitably clear: to bridge the colour bar, the ideological

bar, and the treacherous bar to peace.

This threefold object can be achieved in Africa. The key lies in erecting a civilisation on the foundation of the whole man, everyman, of whatever race or colour.

The needs of the whole man are bread and votes and the four freedoms, but equally a spiritual culture, the right to a vocation, to personal and social responsibility and community co-operation.

Given these rights and values an economy would emerge which would produce none of the social and international tensions which today are rocking civilisation to its doom.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that peace and war are ways of life, the fruit of right and wrong, good and bad living.

## CHECKING ON LABOUR CONDITIONS



One of the dangers in Africa today—plantation farming. Here members of a UN Visiting Mission to West Africa inspect conditions in a plantation labour camp in the British-administered Cameroons.

—Unations

calls for a revolution in our values, the substitution of the values of vocational living, self-realisation through self-giving in the social interest, for the money values of an aggressive, acquisitive society.

These are some of the vital issues to be considered in contemplating the future of Africa.

They presuppose a new culture and thus to some extent new teachers, although there are in most parts of British Africa administrators, teachers, missionaries, doctors, scientists, and settlers who take a keen interest in the African people, admire many of their qualities, appreciate their aspirations and desire to assist their development to the utmost of their power.

But obviously we cannot expect modern Governments, which are immersed in the frenzy of finding markets and supplies in order to maintain their power structure and high living standards, to be over zealous in the spiritual advancement of colonial peoples.

## What are Britain's intentions?

This raises the fundamental question of Britain's intentions in Africa.

Do they include complete racial co-operation or is the aim still white domination?

By means of the former, it lies in Britain's power to prove in Africa that world peace can be achieved by policies, including economic policies, which are directed towards objectives such as human wholeness and a civilisation of high quality.

Were Britain to go all out in furtherance of such objectives, devoting to them monies now being spent on armaments, the next 50 years would be her most glorious period, for her achievement would have solved the problems of war and ideological conflict.

Public opinion is already beginning to move towards that solution. "Waging Peace," a new pamphlet by Richard Acland, Fenner Brockway and Leslie Hale, and strongly backed by public men of high standing, is a striking example of this. It is in line with a new trend in pacifism which I outlined in my Orchard Lea Papers Nos. 4 and 12.

Action in constructive peace making is called for on three levels: personal, group and organisational, and political.

Personal. If justice is to be done to Africa—as to all Colonial peoples—sacrifices in our British living standards will have to be made. Historical justice demands this, and peace-loving people will respond by adjusting their lives to the world's needs, and devote the money thus saved to supporting voluntary constructive action in Africa.

A few would feel called upon to devote a period of their lives to such action, while groups and organisations would co-operate in surveying the entire field of service to be

## WEST GERMANY'S TEN PARLIAMENTS

By Ruediger Frank

LIKE Great Britain, the USA and France, Western Germany has a two-chamber system of legislature. The legislative power of the Federation is exercised jointly by the people's representatives in the "Bundestag" and the countries' (Lander) representatives in the "Bundesrat."

The constitution of Western Germany is based on the principle of federation, covering the Lander of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Bavaria, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatine and Schleswig-Holstein. These nine Lander go back to the old German dukedoms.

## An old tradition

In the 17th century, Germany was split up into several hundred small territories and the central power, represented by the Kaiser, often failed to hold them together, which accounts for the fact that even to this day the federal system of government sometimes meets with psychological resistance. Sound though the federal principle may be that the larger unit must not assume functions which can be handled by the smaller one, particularism, losing itself in shortsighted self-interest, can only have a damaging effect.

In the past, particularism, a degenerated form of federalism, was often fostered by German dynasties, and also by foreign powers, for such evidently selfish reasons as to arouse the antipathy of the Germans and induce in them a regrettable leaning towards centralism. The utmost perfection of anti-federal centralism was reached by Hitler's Third Reich, when the Lander were reduced to mere administrative regions without any autonomy whatsoever.

The present constitution of Western Germany being a federal one, it is an important task of German domestic policy to strengthen the democratic principle of equity and reasonable balance upon which a federal system must be based.

With the surrender of 1945, the German Government ceased to function. Germany was divided into four occupation zones, and in each of these a German administration was built up from below.

## The rights of COs

On the strength of historic tradition, 17 Lander were established, each with a separate constitution, parliament, government and prime minister.

Pacifists will be specially interested in the constitutions and laws of the Lander concerning the right of conscientious objection. The constitutions of Bavaria and Wuertemberg-Baden and the draft constitution of Berlin recognise the right of conscientious objection to military service.

Unfortunately these provisions were replaced by the less definite one of the Bonn Basic Law of 1949 which provides that "nobody may be forced against his conscience to undertake combatant war service."

The formation of a central all-German Government was sacrificed to the Cold War which divided the occupation powers and prevented the reunification of Germany. In 1949 two central governments were formed, for the Western occupation zones the government of the "Federal German Republic" with Bonn as the capital (Constitution of May 23, 1949), and for the Soviet occupation zone the government of the "German Democratic Republic" with East Berlin as the capital (Constitution of October 7, 1949).

In the German Democratic Republic the independence of the Lander has gradually been reduced in favour of the central Government. In Western Germany, however, the federal structure has been maintained. Article 30 of the federal constitution states that

"government functions and obligations are the concern of the Lander, except in cases where this Basic Law provides for, or admits of, another regulation."

Articles 73, 74 and 75 of the Basic Law (the West German constitution was given that name in order to emphasise its provisional character) lay down these "other regulations." They embrace practically every sphere of government, and all that remains within the power of the Legislature and Executive of the Lander are educational policy and some administrative concerns.

Military legislation, however, is not among the items reserved for the Bund, so that the Bundestag can pass no military Acts or introduce conscription.

But since the September elections of 1953 this constitutional obstacle to German remilitarisation is no longer of any importance, because the parties favouring conscription now have a two-thirds majority and can alter the constitution as they like.

Any change of the constitution would also require a two-thirds majority in the Upper House (composed of representatives of the Lander), so that this is one of the few cases in which the Lander exercise any influence on important issues of domestic and foreign policy.

But the Lander representatives in the Bundesrat are appointed by their Governments, and since the elections in Hamburg last November, which ended in a victory of the Adenauer Coalition, the Bonn Government commands a two-thirds majority in the Bundesrat as well as in the Lower House.

There can be no doubt that in practice the Western German constitution does not encourage the autonomy of the Lander. Fortunately, however, there are many Germans who not only hold that federalism should be the fundamental principle of a future world government, but recognise it as the one effective barrier against totalitarianism and strive to strengthen and uphold a genuinely federal attitude in the minds of the German people.

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# Talking of books...

By Robert Greacen

**The Life of the Spirit**, December, 1953. Blackfriars Publications, 1s. 6d.  
**Blackfriars**, February, 1954. Blackfriars Publications, 2s.  
**The Dove and the Sickle**, by Harold Watkins. Forc Publications, 3s. 6d.

THIS issue of THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT, sub-titled "Peace On Earth," contains a number of articles on the attitude of certain Roman Catholics towards peace and pacifism. Dorothy Day writes on "The Problems of the Pacifist" in which she admits:

Our pacifism seems diametrically opposed to ninety-nine per cent. of the Church.

Father Conrad Pepler, O.P., discusses "War in Tradition and Today" in the current number of BLACKFRIARS, a highly intelligent and liberal monthly publication. He is worth quoting at length on the Roman Catholic Church's official attitude:

Since the later Middle Ages the Church has commonly taught that five main conditions must be fulfilled before a war may be entered into with justice and therefore graciously. These conditions are that the war has to be undertaken only as a last resort when all other methods of restoring or achieving peace have failed; that there are serious prospects of success; that the war must be waged only for a grave and just cause proportionate to the evils of war; that it must be declared and prosecuted by the legitimate authority; and that the whole prosecution of the war be guided by the right intention.

Father Pepler maintains that it is not possible for a modern war simultaneously to satisfy all these conditions, even though he considers one or other of them might be realised such as, for example, "the just cause." How long will it take the Vatican to agree with this reasoning and make that agreement public? It is at least interesting and perhaps significant that one French Bishop has already publicly declared that it would be wrong for his country to join in a "preventive" war against the USSR.

IN THE DOVE AND THE SICKLE Harold Watkins, the Welsh economist and lecturer, and a Vice-President of the British Peace Committee, gives his impressions of what the blurb describes as "the fight for peace." Because of his conviction of the values of the World Peace Council's international activities, Mr. Watkins resigned from the Labour Party, of which he had been a member for many years. In 1952 he visited the Soviet Union as a member of the British Peace Delegation; and here we find an interesting day-to-day description of that visit.

He went to the USSR with a life-long admiration for the achievements of our war-time ally, and came back strengthened in his view that Russia had no



MOSCOW BRICKLAYER

aggressive intentions whatever. One never for a moment doubts the author's sincerity or good intentions. All the same, the case for the Soviet Union's consistently pure motives would be much stronger if the critical spirit were just a little in evidence.

Mr. Watkins believes that the purely pacifist groups in Britain "have done excellent work of a negative, non-resistance character." Well, that opens quite an argument... As the late Dr. Joad would say, "it all depends what you mean by 'negative'." Not to end on a "negative" note, I would like to emphasise that there is much in this little volume that is valuable and stimulating. In any case, pacifists should be aware of the facts and opinions behind the activities of the British Peace Committee and similar bodies.

## Retrospect

In the world of books the Christmas stampede remains only a wistful memory, and the spring offensive has not yet started. This might be an opportune time to mention one or two of the more important recent literary happenings.

Towards the end of 1953, Dylan Thomas, the Welsh poet and radio script writer, died in the U.S., where he had been on a lecture tour, at the age of 39. A valuable memorial issue of the magazine ADAM (5s.), devoted to his life and work, has just appeared. There have been many tributes to him as man and writer; but the most fitting one might be a reading (or re-reading) of his work. Thomas' COLLECTED POEMS (Dent, 12s. 6d.) contains the poems he valued most, and which he wrote (in his own words) "for the love of Man and in praise of God."

On January 25 last, Somerset Maugham was 80 years old. Frequently considered a cynic and a hater of humankind, Mr. Maugham seems to me more praised than understood. I would commend a few revealing sentences from his volume of autobiography, THE SUMMING UP, to those who are inclined to take his "cynicism" for granted:

"The value of culture is its effect upon character. It avails nothing unless it ennobles and strengthens that. Its use is for life. Its aim is not beauty but goodness."

# Letters to the Editor

## The Third Camp

MR. B. K. GUPTA thinks it wrong (PN, January 15) to associate Nehru's name with the Third Camp because he has "strongly denounced the idea of creating a 'bloc' pledged to the ideals for which, in its essentials, the Third Camp Movement stands."

Now it is true, for example, that on February 16 last year (when Aneurin Bevan was in India) Nehru criticised the idea of a "third bloc" (suggestive of military alliances and a new balance of power) and proposed instead the term "third area"—an area of "countries which do not want to encourage any tendencies to war, who wish to work for peace, and do not want to align themselves with any bloc."

The main difference between this and the Praja Socialist demand for a "homogenous international unit" in Asia seems to be that Nehru is Prime Minister and the PSP is an opposition party with more scope for large political views. Most Third Campers would presumably agree that the Nehru doctrine is good as far as it goes.

My uncertainty about the PSP's contribution to the Third Camp is confined (as I hope my article made clear) to the question of war-resistance. Those who now lead the PSP did not make an effective stand against war hysteria in the spring of 1950, and Nehru did. To that extent western pacifists are bound to feel greater confidence in Nehru than in the Indian socialists.

GEOFFREY CARNALL.

43 Wellesley Ave., Belfast.

## Pacifist Policy

LET Peace News plug a policy and make it known as the top priority activity for members of the Peace Pledge Union.

If we are ever to emerge from our present position as an ineffective minority, the PPU National Council must draft a policy. The casual reader of Peace News is already faced by the points given by the Toldas Group and he is also implored to read "Waging Peace" by non-pacifist MPs. No wonder he is at a loss regarding the attitude of the PPU in this welter of opinion.

ALBERT LEAPER.

22 Barrington Ave., Hull.

## Jersey and military service

DURING the 1954 session of the States, Jersey's parliament, the question of military service will come up again in a form basically similar to that only too well known to our friends north of the Channel. The "Evening Post," our English language newspaper, very definitely supports conscription and created a paper furore last year when the original Bill was rejected.

The number of Quakers is small and the PPU dormant. It would be a great help if we could get pamphlets from pacifist organisations and possibly one or two speakers, although we are rather far from the mainland.

Many tourists remark what a wonderfully peaceful atmosphere there is in Jersey. By all means let us preserve this, and show our friends on both sides of the Channel that peaceful construction is more conducive to happiness than atomic destruction.

St. Helier.

"POUR LA PAIX."

## Be vegetarians

IN Peter Freeman's article ("Who shall starve?" PN, January 22), the figures he quotes of population increases seem to destroy an old belief that as a nation prospers, and

as its standard of living and of education rises, so does its population level off and its rate of increase fall—and with it falls the amount of food required.

Yet the statistics quoted for Britain (where a high standard of living has been enjoyed) are exactly the same as for the rest of the world (where standards have been very low mostly), viz., a five-fold increase in population in both cases in the past 300 years.

Since residing in a district devoted to grass for milk and meat production, I have been amazed at the inefficient use of our precious land. I am told, as an ignorant townsman, that the land is fit for nothing else, and can't be bettered. Yet I look at the same soil in the cottager's garden and I see excellent fruit and vegetables, and I know that the farm land could be put to better use and produce more food than it is doing.

There is certainly a real need for pacifists to turn vegetarian and cease the selfish drain on world food supplies which meat-eating involves by reason of its wasteful use of land.

S. D. SMITH.

Woodside, Wigglesworth, Skipton, Yorks.

## German view

I DO not always agree with Peace News opinion concerning Soviet Russia because I've been four years in Russian captivity and did see and hear more about the political operations of Communism on the very spot. I think we have more reason to distrust the politics of the Russian Bear than of Uncle Sam, although both seek the same thing—absolute domination.

Your reports on Germany are very interesting. Often I read sometimes which I never read before in any other newspaper.

ERICH SCHULZ.

Baden, Germany.

## Research needed

IN Britain there is an institute conducting cancer research—that great scourge of all nations. War is a much greater scourge than cancer and affects more people in many more ways.

Should there not be an Institute for Research into the Causes of War, financially backed by the Government, with workers to include politicians, economists, and industrialists, historians and psychologists?

A. M. SHERARD.

30 Culmington Rd., Ealing, W.13.

## Too many people

● P. R. Stubbings (PN, January 8) scouts the idea that there could ever be too many people in the world. He should read "Road to Survival," by Wm. Vogt, or any other of the warnings now written of the danger of overpopulation. A population too great for the country it inhabits is one of the causes of war; pacifists should help forward family planning everywhere, instead of ranging themselves against the idea.—Lucy Kingston, Dublin.

● I agree with Frank Hancock (PN, December 25) that there are too many people, but what would he like pacifists to do? It seems to me that the only worthwhile answer lies in the education and emancipation of the women-folk of the countries wherein the increase causes the most misery.—W. Hand, Lewes.

● We cannot say that it is impossible to feed all the people of the world while we plough wheat into the ground (America), throw tomatoes into the sea (Jersey), and someone goes around trying to give away thousands of pounds of butter, but cannot because of the cost of transport. Under a capitalist system over-production means dropping prices, and restrictive measures come into existence to keep prices high.—L. Middleton, Leigh-on-Sea.

● Family limitation may be necessary, but is it not the problem of too many parents and grandparents, rather than too many children?—Clarence Tritton, Ringmer, Sussex.

## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Friday, February 5

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bull St. Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, MP, "The Great Delusion." Birmingham Peace Council.  
**HULL:** 8 p.m.; 6 Bond St. Speaker, Mr. L. A. Bird. All welcome. Questions invited. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Discussion of pamphlet, "Waging Peace," led by Nancy J. Edmonds. PPU.  
**IPSWICH:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Fonnereau Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

### Saturday, February 6

**UXBRIDGE:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Belmont Rd. "Why won't they fire?" Uxbridge CO Fellowship.

### Sunday, February 7

**LONDON, W.11:** 3.30 p.m.; Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (nr. Holland Pk. Stn.) N. J. Teape. "Escapist or Creative Religion?" Religion Commission PPU.

### Monday, February 8

**NORWICH:** 7.15 p.m.; Chapel-in-the-Field Cong. School Room. Rev. C. H. Macquire, "Christ and War." For.

**SHAFESBURY:** 7.30 p.m.; Public Meeting. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Gold Hill. John Hoyland, "Work for Peace." For.

**SHEFFIELD:** 7.30 p.m.; Church Ho., St. James St. Removing the Causes of War. Mr. Tom Pickles, "Poverty in Asia." PPU.

### Tuesday, February 9

**BATTERSEA:** 8 p.m.; St. Barnabas Church, Clapham Common. Stuart Morris, "Ellis Island and Beyond." PPU.  
**MANCHESTER:** 1.2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### Wednesday, February 10

**LONDON, N.4:** 8 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group Mtg. 3 Blackstock Rd., Finsbury Pk.

### Thursday, February 11

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mr. R. J. Moore, JP, "Juvenile Delinquency." PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 12.30 p.m.; Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air meeting. Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman. PPU.

### Friday, February 12

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Phil Rickard, "The place of force in modern society." PPU.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

## MEETINGS

**INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath.** Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

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## Saturday, February 13

**GLASGOW:** 3 p.m.; Community House, 214 Clyde St., C.1. Annual General Meeting of Church of Scotland Peace Society and Fellowship of Reconciliation (Glasgow branches).

## Tuesday, February 16

**CAMBRIDGE:** 8.30 p.m.; Public Mtg. Friends' Mtg. Ho., John Hoyland, "Mankind at the Crossroads." For.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### HOLIDAYS

A PEACEFUL HOLIDAY at Wakefield House, Dunbar, Scotland. Particulars from Mr. and Mrs. Pass.

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## C.O. TRIBUNALS

The public are admitted to all sessions of Local and Appellate Tribunals. Latest dates of hearings are:

### Monday, February 8 and 22

**LONDON, N.W.1:** Appellate Tribunal, 10.30 a.m. 26 Sussex Place, Regent's Pk. (Baker St. Und.)

### Friday, February 5 and 19

**FULHAM:** London Local Tribunal, 10.30 a.m. Council Chamber, Fulham Town Hall (Fulham Broadway Und.)

### Friday, March 5

**FULHAM:** As above and every fortnight till Easter.



## "Africa for the Africans"

million acres of land in Kenya, only one million acres were effectively farmed, the rest being "grazing" land.

"The European settler has more land than he requires—and this land is ours, whether it was originally occupied by us or not!"

A majority of the delegates agreed in demanding the revocation of the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1938; the freeing of all unused land for African cultivation, including that in the so-called "European Highlands"; the removal of the distinctive term "African reserves," and of restrictions on the growing of marketable crops by Africans. "An African may grow sisal, yes!" said Murumbi, "But only as a hedge round his land—and he may only plant one hundred coffee trees."

### Full democracy

Abolition of the colour bar and the implementation of full democracy based on a common electoral roll were among the other points discussed. At present 5½ million Africans, 130,000 Asians and only 35,000 white settlers, are governed by 11 elected Europeans and six Africans, none of them elected.

Education for all must be the responsibility of the State. So far Africans have had to start their own schools, 180 of which, built by voluntary labour, have now been closed down. Other proposals included technical education for Africans to fit them for higher posts, the building of village communities on the Indian model and assistance in trade union organisation.

One speaker wanted tighter controls on development, to avoid Capitalist monopolies—but the control must be African, through Co-operative organisations.

Great concern was expressed at the official Labour Party attitude to Colonial problems, and a "change of heart" was hoped for, at the next Election.

A resolution was passed, condemning the actions of the British Government in British Guiana and Kenya, and demanding the with-

drawal of troops from British Guiana and the restoration of the elected Government.

"Ideas" as one delegate said, "cannot be destroyed by gunboats!"

## UGANDA LEADER ARRESTED

### Sedition charge follows reprinting of article

A CHARGE of sedition has been preferred against the Editor of the Uganda Express, Joseph Kiwanuka, vice-president of the Uganda National Congress.

The charges, which arise from an article by George Padmore reprinted from a British periodical, the Socialist Leader, allege that the article taken as a whole is of a seditious nature, and in particular the following passage:

"In 1926 the British detached the Rudolf Province, a part of Buganda, and handed it over to the European-dominated Government of Kenya as part of the plan to federate the East African territories."

"It was only the risk of being deposed that made Kabaka Daudi Chwa give way to the British *dikari*."

"In Africa, neither king nor peasant has any rights which a white man is bound to respect if they stand in the way of what he considers his vital interests."

Denis Hayes, London solicitor well known for his work on behalf of conscientious objectors, has instructed Mr. Roland Browne to lead the defence.

Mr. Kiwanuka was not in London at the time of publication of the article, having been sent to England by the Uganda National Congress to make political representation in connection with the deposition of the Kabaka of Buganda.

After meeting the Kabaka in London, Kiwanuka flew back to Uganda for further instructions. Shortly after his arrival he was arrested and charged at Kampala with sedition. He pleaded not guilty.

After being released on £250 bail he was rearrested under Emergency Regulations and is believed still detained.

## INSIDE U.N. — AND OUT

LEAFLETS pointing out that "so long as we believe in military might, the atom and hydrogen bombs cannot be controlled by America, Russia or the UN," were handed out when President Eisenhower spoke to the UN Assembly at Lake Success last December.

The leaflet concluded by calling upon the people of America "to reject the armaments race, to work toward total world disarmament and to rely on Gandhian non-violence to preserve the values of democracy."

In his speech President Eisenhower stated that atomic bombs are now 25 times more powerful than the original ones dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He added that at present all branches of the US armed forces are capable of utilising atomic weapons.

What he didn't say, according to Hanson Baldwin, of the New York Times, is that the US has an estimated stockpile of considerably more than 1,000 atom bombs and Russia an estimated stockpile of between 100 and 200. Regarding President Eisenhower's proposal for a UN atom stockpile for peace, Baldwin commented: "Whether this offer can reduce the tempo of the arms race seems doubtful; whether it can have any permanent influence upon the two-world situation, even more doubtful."

## London Swiss to help South Africa Relief Fund

THE Swiss Church in London is to help to collect books and clothing for sending to South African Bantu children via the South Africa Relief Fund.

At a recent meeting of the Swiss Club, Tom Wardle, of Peace News, spoke of the conditions of African and Indian people in the Union and described the work of Swiss Pastor Junod, founder of the South African Penal Reform League. Pastor Junod makes frequent visits to prisons and attends African executions. He is a leading figure in all branches of race relations work.

Present at the meeting were some members of Highgate, London, Peace Pledge Union Group, who founded the South Africa Relief Fund. When mention was made of the fund, the pastor of the Swiss Church offered to help in collecting gifts. A consignment will be despatched shortly. Readers interested are asked to send gifts to Doris Wheeler, SARF, 15 Lynmouth Road, London, N.2.

## British magazine banned in Kenya

The African and Colonial World, a democratic anti-imperialist magazine published in London has been banned from import into Kenya.

This was announced in the February issue of the magazine which stated that the matter had been taken up with the Colonial Office.

## BEHIND THE NEWS

"Every dictatorial state begins its rule by concentrating power at the highest level. Germany would be unfit to be a member of a European federation if it were centralist within its own borders."

If Herr Hellwege is justified in his comment, however, he already excludes France from a European federation, for France is decidedly more centralist than Western Germany.

### "Who is going to stop us?"

IN the presence of the Secretary of Defence and the Air Force Chief of Staff, Mr. Talbot, Secretary of the US Air Force, gave a precise answer to a Press correspondent's question, "Whether the Spanish Agreement did not provide only for the peacetime use of American bases there and, if so, what would the Air Force do in wartime?"

"Well," said Mr. Talbot, "who is going to stop us? There are certain agreements on the use of bases, but when the balloon goes up we are going right in."

Truth does sometimes slip out in unguarded remarks and it may be that fear of repercussions caused him to issue a subsequent statement to "clarify" his remarks.

This involved an assurance that the USA had every intention of living up to the Agreement with Spain and other foreign governments who had granted them air bases, which included a stipulation that "the time and manner of wartime utilisation of such areas and facilities will be as mutually agreed upon." But the Agreement is at the same time described as a "self-defence measure," and previous experience warrants the assumption that in an emergency the needs of self-defence will override any considerations about keeping agreements.

It must not be forgotten that in this respect Britain is in the same dilemma as Spain. What America would regard as self-defence would spell destruction for us, and it is difficult to imagine that in the event of war the USA would listen to any objection from a British Government about the use of air fields here.

The only solution is for the British and other

Governments to ask the American Air Force to go home now.

### Is this freedom?

THE announcement that all the Korean prisoners had been "freed" meant no more than that the UN Command had decided to restore their civilian status after the Indian custodian troops had handed them back.

Whether or not this was in conformity with the armistice agreement, the result of handing them back to the care of the South Korean Government or of Chiang Kai-shek has hardly been to ensure their freedom. It appears that not only are Korean prisoners of war to be subject to severe interrogation and possible punishment, but they are virtually to be conscripted into Syngman Rhee's army.

Those arriving in Formosa are to undergo a course of indoctrination, after which, to quote Major General Chase, they will be given an early opportunity of fighting their way back to the Chinese mainland. If it was the intention of the UN Command that PoWs should return to civilian status, steps should have been taken to ensure that those who wished were able to maintain that status and not again be embroiled in preparation for further conflict.

This situation would never have arisen if both sides had really been willing that the political conference should reach a settlement of the Korean problem, and if there was serious concern for a general settlement in the Far East.

To swell the forces available to Rhee and Chiang is but to increase the temptation to them to renew the war.

In the face of the mounting difficulties and dangers the refusal of the British, American and French Governments to support India's proposal for the reconvening of the UN Assembly is hard to understand or to justify.

If it is considered premature for UN to meet now, how much more critical must the situation become before it is timely?

## AS OTHERS SEE US

His proposal (Mr. Molotov) was one for a world conference to which every power should be invited, whether a member of United Nations or not, for the purpose of discussing world disarmament. It is clear that Mr. Molotov's purpose was to cause delay . . . for nobody can seriously suppose that disarmament would be advanced by a mass meeting of that kind, or that the unrepentant aggressors of Korea and Indo-China are seriously wishing that it should be . . . but the plan offers great scope for misleading propaganda and for the bogging of all serious discussion.

—Sunday Times, January 31, 1954.

Oh, wad some pow'r the giftie gie us  
To see ourselves as others see us!

—Robert Burns.

THAT no nation can be expected to disarm until all nations have agreed to do so is an excuse that has been made, perhaps more often than any other, for evading any discussion on the subject of disarmament.

A conference of all nations could, of course, easily be as abortive as other such conferences in the past, but on the other hand, following upon two world wars, and existing, as we all do today, under the threat of a third world war which might destroy at least two-thirds of the human race, it would seem that some attempt to discuss disarmament was more important than any other subject that could possibly be considered.

The Sunday Times, it is to be assumed, is referring to North Koreans as "unrepentant aggressors," though most people reading their newspapers today might be forgiven for supposing that the most aggressively unrepentant voice was that of Syngman Rhee!

It may be true that the North Koreans and the rebels in Indo-China are unwilling to disarm, but it is not overwhelmingly apparent that the United Kingdom, France or America are particularly willing, and it is unlikely that these smaller groups will be persuaded by the blank refusal of the Western Powers even to consider a world discussion on the matter.



The accusation that the proposal is only made by Russia in order to delay discussion on more important issues, seems a little far-fetched in view of the fact that the proposal was for a conference in about six months' time, not now. It would not have been difficult to agree at least to attempt it, and it seems a harmless enough objective in itself.

A meeting of all nations might not materially advance practical steps towards total disarmament, but it certainly could not retard them, for if it is to be argued that no one nation can disarm unless the rest do the same, it is surely pertinent to ask how that can be achieved except, first of all, by the means of all nations meeting to discuss the issue?

The attempt to discredit the proposal, as an excuse for not giving it consideration, on the grounds that it is put forward merely as an obstruction to proceeding with more weighty matters, will undoubtedly give an impression to the Eastern peoples of a piece of obstructionism on an issue of paramount importance, quite equal to that of which Mr. Molotov is accused.

It would, of course, be a very remarkable occurrence if a world conference were to make a decision to disarm totally, because conferences of this nature are not called, nor is it suggested that this one would be called, for any other purpose than to decide what kind of arms each nation will retain within a framework of a percentage reduction. It is highly unlikely that total disarmament would appear upon the Agenda, and yet until it does, and is given serious consideration, the danger of war will remain.

It is frequently said that total disarmament is an impractical ideal which will never be achieved; the so-called realists argue that

because of the fear of attack great armaments are essential, failing to recognise, or perhaps, refusing to see, that it is these very weapons that are causing the fear. This is not realism at all; it is lunacy.

While both sides face up to each other with accusations of obstruction; while neither side seems able to perceive how uncommonly like each other they are in their attitude and outlook on the whole question, there may be very little hope for a world-wide conference, yet, obviously it would be more hopeful than not attempting it.

The "mailed fist" image beheld in every angle of the mirror needs to be shattered by an offer of unilateral disarmament; it is time the much-decried "idealism" was given a chance.

## FREE UNIVERSITY TRAINING

★ FROM PAGE ONE

healthy conditions. In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, young people from all over the world have been applying to help pay back some of the debt the Western world owes to the peoples of Africa and the East.

One of the foci of IDPA training work is Gandhi's Basic Education Centre at Sevagram, India, where several IDPA places are now living. A special teacher has been engaged to instruct non-Indian constructive workers in Hindi. Other openings are in:

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Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

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